

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 6474

LIMDIS

.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: CSCE: MEETING WITH SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD

1. SUMMARY. AT LUNCHEON GIVEN FOR MEMBERS OF USDEL SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KOVALEV COVERED POINTS OF CURRENT CONCERN TO SOVIET DELEGATION AT CSCE, AMONG WHICH RADIO BROADCASTING PROBLEMS AND RESTRICTIVE APPROACH TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES STAND OUT. END SUMMARY.

2. AT LUNCH HOSTED BY SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KOVALEV DEC. 6 (PRESENT ON SOVIET SIDE WERE KOVALEV, MENDELEVICH, DUBININ, ROZANOV, AND SUPAGIN; ON U.S. SIDE, BOSTER, JENKINS, STEFAN, AND MARESCA), FOLLOWING ISSUES WERE DISCUSSED.

3. COMMENCEMENT OF DRAFTING. KOVALEV STRESSED IMPORTANCE SOVIET DELEGATION ATTACHED TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF DRAFTING IN ALL BASKETS ON RESUMPTION OF TALKS IN MID-JANUARY. BOSTER SAID WE AGREED WITH THIS APPROACH. WHILE NOT ALL SUBCOMMITTEES WOULD BE ABLE TO BEGIN DRAFTING AT EXACTLY SAME TIME, WE ENVISIONED THAT GENERAL DRAFTING WOULD GET UNDERWAY AFTER CHRISTMAS RECESS.

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4. CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (CBM'S). KOVALEV ASKED FOR

CONFIRMATION OF U.S. POSITION ON CBM'S AS THEY HAD UNDERSTOOD IT FROM VEST (GENEVA'S 4683) AND FROM OTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH OUR OFFICIALS, I.E. OUR POSITION ON PRE-NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS. KOVALEV EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS RAISING THIS BECAUSE THEY HAD GOOD IDEA OF THE POSITIONS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS FROM LISTENING TO THEM IN THE MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE BUT HAD NOT HEARD U.S. POSITION EXPRESSED THERE. BOSTER REPLIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN OUR POSITION. WE EXPECTED AGREEMENT ON TWO CBM'S ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS AND EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS, AND WE HAD AGREED TO STUDY THE QUESTION OF MOVEMENTS.

5. RADIO LIBERTY AND RFE. REFERRING TO A WARM EXCHANGE BETWEEN SOVIET AND U.S. REPRESENTATIVES IN INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE ON RADIO QUESTIONS EARLIER IN THE WEEK KOVALEV EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THERE SHOULD BE POLEMICAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN SOVIET AND U.S. DELEGATIONS WHICH WAS EXCEPTION TO FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE WHICH PREVAILED BETWEEN OUR TWO DELEGATIONS. SOVIETS WERE NOW ALLOWING FREE TRANSMISSION OF VOA AND OTHER BROADCASTS, AND PROBLEM OF RADIO LIBERTY AND RFE SHOULD ALSO BE ELIMINATED. THEY WERE DIRECTING THEIR APPROACH, AS WE KNEW, AGAINST COUNTRIES WHICH PERMITTED THESE STATIONS TO OPERATE FROM THEIR TERRITORY. THIS WAS IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR SOVIETS AND WE SHOULD COOPERATE. BOSTER SAID WE WERE APPRECIATIVE OF SOVIET STEP WITH RESPECT TO VOA AND OTHER SUCH BROADCASTING, A STEP WHICH FIT WELL INTO THE OBJECTIVES OF CSCE. WITH RESPECT TO RADIO LIBERTY AND RFE, HOWEVER, BOSTER SAID HE WOULD BE DOING KOVALEV A DISSERVICE IF HE ENCOURAGED HIM TO THINK THAT WE HAD ANY FLEXIBILITY ON THIS QUESTION. NEITHER DID WE WANT POLEMICS WITH SOVDEL OVER THIS ISSUE AND WOULD BE GUIDED BY SOVIET LEAD WHETHER THERE WERE TO BE ANY. IN GENERAL, WE DID NOT WANT CONFRONTATION AT CSCE; THERE WOULD BE DIFFERENCES ABOUT ISSUES BUT WE WISHED ATMOSPHERE OF DISCUSSION OF THESE DIFFERENCES TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE. KOVALEV SAID HE NEVERTHELESS HOPED WE COULD RAISE QUESTION OF RADIOS DURING OUR FORTHCOMING CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON.

6. STYLE OF FINAL DOCUMENT LANGUAGE. KOVALEV SPOKE IN A ROUND-ABOUT WAY OF HOW IMPORTANT IT WOULD BE TO FIND RIGHT STYLE OF LANGUAGE FOR FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD NOT BE OFFENSIVE TO MINISTERS OR OTHERS WHO WOULD READ IT ESPECIALLY "SINCE IT WILL BE SIGNED AT HIGHEST LEVEL." NOTE: WE HAD KNOWN FROM
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ITALIAN AMBASSADOR THAT KOVALEV HAD BEEN MUCH MORE EXPLICIT WITH HIM ON PREVIOUS DAY IN ASKING FOR DELETION OF SUCH PHRASES AS "REMOVAL OF OBSTACLES" IN HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION PROPOSALS WHICH SOVDEL REGARDED AS "PROVOCATIVE.") BOSTER EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT WE COULD FIND LANGUAGE TO DESCRIBE OUR AGREEMENTS WHICH WOULD NOT BE OBJECTIONABLE. WHAT WAS IMPORTANT WAS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE. IF THERE WERE CONSTRUCTIVE AGREEMENTS, WE COULD FIND CONSTRUCTIVE LANGUAGE.

7. OTHER ISSUES. KOVALEV SAID HE WOULD NOT REVIEW OTHER ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THEM--PREAMBLE IN BASKET III, FOR EXAMPLE--AS WE KNEW THEIR POSITIONS FROM PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS. MENDELEVICH ADDED THAT HE WAS LOOKING FORWARD TO OPENING OF DISCUSSION OF CSCE FOLLOW-ON; BOSTER NOTED THAT U.S. POSITION WAS WELL KNOWN--WE DID NOT THINK DISCUSSION OF FOLLOW-ON WOULD BE MEANINGFUL UNTIL WE HAD IDEA OF CONCRETE RESULTS CONFERENCE WAS LIKELY TO PRODUCE.

8. COMMENT. KOVALEV WAS IN SAME NOTABLY RELAXED MOOD AS HE HAD BEEN AT OUR LUNCH TWO WEEKS AGO. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO JUDGE FROM CURRENT SOVIET ATTITUDE THAT THEY FEEL ANY FRUSTRATION OVER FAILURE OF THEIR OBJECTIVE OF CONCLUDE CSCE IN 1973.
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